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342 tiative, they must be held in the several private houses. Furthermore, on these
[345] occasions one can count on the presence of perhaps three hundred or more persons; hence houses of the measurements given above are barely adequate, since most of the ceremonies take place inside the house, not in the yard.

Names of houses.—Formerly, every house had an individual name given by the
342 owner who built it. Some house owners observe this custom even today. The con-
552 struction completed, the owner invites neighbors and friends to a "hair-trimming party" (the reference is to the irregular tips of the new thatched roof), and on this occasion he announces the name, chosen by himself freely and not dependent on the clan, as are the names of persons. Some examples: či:'ru-gịne (či:'ru, swallow; gi'ne, dwelling); čẹịi'ne (čẹịi', to soar in the air); pa:'ru (the name of a mythical *serra* [p. 141]); ụịrẽ-gịne (ụị, to float; rẽ, tied together); taive-gi'ne (taive', "tauary, a tree [*Couratari* sp.]), the house of the culture hero dyoi'.

Interior and living accommodations.—Attached to the walls is the most characteristic object of the modern house, a sort of stage or platform of paxiuba palm at least 2 by 1.5 m., but usually much longer. Its elevation varies from 10 to 70 cm. In houses inhabited by more than one family there is a platform for each family, besides the previously mentioned lofts beneath the roof.

Seated upon these platforms, the Indians pass the better part of the day, working
352 or conversing. And here at night they spread out large cloths made from the inner
513 bark of the *tururí* tree[a] and erect the mosquito nets. Formerly, there was no such platform; it became necessary only when the mosquito net was adopted. Its name, dyura' (l.g., *girú*), is Tupi.

283 Originally the Tukuna slept in hammocks (na:'pa) made by weaving tucum
[513] thread to make an elastic mesh; beneath, they maintained a small fire on cold nights.
[439] *Tucum* thread, twisted by the women on the naked thigh or abdomen, is today another article of Tukuna commerce with the Neobrazilians. I never saw thread of *ambaúva*[b] fibers, which, according to Tessmann, is manufactured by the Tukuna, and none of the Indians whom I consulted had any idea of its preparation.

513 The hammock is made by passing an "endless" thread around two vertical posts,
286 the distance between them equal to the length desired for the hammock. A shuttle of paxiuba wood or, as a makeshift, a leafstalk of the burity palm is used for the weaving. Formerly, hammocks were apparently sometimes made of tucum in a technique of double transversal threads, but the Tukuna themselves say that this type was an imitation of the hammocks of a strange tribe, exactly which tribe they do not know. I never saw cotton used for the woof, as Martius reports.

The hammocks, in spite of having "cuffs" (*sobrepunhos*) are usually short, but, owing to the weaving technique, they stretch enormously in a lateral direction.
[531] The Indian women know how to produce various decorative patterns by inserting black threads or even red, yellow, and green.[a]

Nowadays, the hammock—which is never set up beneath a mosquito net—serves for the daytime rest, since rocking is the only way of keeping at a little distance the horrible plague of mosquitoes and gadflies. It is offered as a privilege to an honored guest.

[a] T., nu'ẽvẽ, nyo'ẽ.
[b] *Cecropia* sp.; known also as *embaúba, imbaúba.*

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Articles of use, clothes, for instance, are kept in a large basket made of uarumã, with a lid and a round mouth. Four pointed bulges woven in the lid and at the bottom serve as feet (pl. 5, *b*). Another type of uarumã basket, with a round mouth, has a flat, square lid and bottom (pl. 5, *d*). Baskets of these two types are found in all sizes, from 4 to 40 cm. in diameter. There are other small conical baskets woven in spiral technique, with flat bottoms. I do not know whether they are aboriginal or are imitations of the Neobrazilian *balaios* (hampers or fruit baskets). 352 285

In many houses nowadays one sees trunks that have been purchased from the Neobrazilians. In most houses, however, clothes and tucum fibers are suspended from the crossbeams. Almost always, too, there are the remains of preparations for the last celebration: some costumes hanging from the house posts, fragments of tururí cloth thrown on top of the highest crossbeams, dance batons thrust beneath the roof thatch, small drums tied to the corner rafters, grotesque masks wrapped in bundles of tururí cloth, and rolls of tururí containing ornaments. Frequently, also, one sees ears of maize tied together on the crossbeams or the left. 352 [939]

The kitchen.—Nowadays at least, no one keeps or cooks food in the living quarters. For this purpose there is always a special little hut, ten to fifty meters away from the main house. Today this is invariably a rectangular shelter with a ridge roof. 343

According to Bates, the fires were built in the open space in the center of the house.[3] But the haphazard construction of the house he describes makes one doubt that this was customary, nor can one understand how the Indians, if they had kitchen fires in the middle of the house, could carry on in it such active ceremonies as the puberty ceremony. Moraes Torres, however, describes a Tukuna house which he saw a few years before, in 1852, perhaps in the same place (near São Paulo de Olivença), in which the space encircled by the inner series of the roof supports "served as kitchen and dance-hall."[4] It is noteworthy that most accounts give the cook shed its Portuguese name, *cozinha* (T., kuči'na). 343 114 [354]

All this leads one to believe that such separate sheds were an innovation that appeared when the Tukuna learned the preparation of fermented manioc flour, *farinha d'agua*, from the Neobrazilians, and that they are variants of the Neobrazilian oven "houses." At the same time, the Tukuna swear that these sheds have been used since the old days and that the aboriginal type was also circular. 343 [111]

In any case, the separate cook shed is today an outstanding characteristic of all the Tukuna settlements, distinguishing their houses at first glance from those of other peoples of the region, who cook beneath the roof of their dwellings or in an attached shed. In the Tukuna shed one finds everything necessary for preparing the daily food, as well as for making manioc flour.

The kitchen fire is distinguished by a *trempé*, a three-legged stand placed over the fire to hold a cooking pot. It consists of three pieces of baked clay, the central part, on which the pot rests, being either pierced or solid. [354]

Nowadays, fires are lighted by means of matches or a flint and steel lighter acquired in trade. According to Tessmann, fire was formerly produced by striking 372

[3] Bates, The Naturalist on the River Amazons, 2:403.
[4] Moraes Torres, Itinerario das viziitas, p. 93.

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gigas), *tucunaré* (*Cichla* sp.), *cachorra* (*Eynedon hydrocyon*, Cast.), or *aracú* (*Leporinus* sp.). These last two are forbidden because they eat leaves. The same prohibition holds for the honey of the wild bee, *jandaíra*, and for *muzima*, the edible larvae of Coleoptera.

The planter of maize must not touch any fish stupefacient (*timbó*) or blood, or any object the color of blood; if he should touch urucú or *genipapo*, the maize would turn red or black. One day, an Indian who had planted maize brought me a fish, a tucunaré. Later, the leaves of the maize he had planted turned yellow. To undo the evil effects of the broken taboo he had to wash his hands and arms with *envira de matamatá*, because they had touched the fish, and had to bind his arms and legs with strips of the same liana.

If a pregnant woman plants maize, the plant also becomes "enceinte," and it will produce twin ears.

Contrary to the statements of Tessmann's informants,[1] these Tukuna cultivate the peanut (manduví) just as much as the sweet potato; of the latter they raise two special types, one for the brewing of beer (*chicha*), one as a component of curare. The cultivation of the first type is post-Columbian, according to some of my informants, but the second is undoubtedly aboriginal.

They also say that a stunted type of sugar cane was "already in Deer's vatu'." The cane is little cultivated. To extract the juice it is crushed first with a club and then twisted, in the way Tessmann has described.

The banana, today of considerable economic importance, is post-Columbian, but its culture dates back several centuries. The most common varieties are poi' (large), iru' (small), and the nyëëta'rë poi' or guariba monkey banana, so called because of its red color.

Even today the Tukuna do not plant either kidney beans or broad beans. The malagueta pepper is of recent introduction; formerly only one type of pepper was known—a small, round, yellow pepper called mü'nëru ("grasshopper's head"; më'ë, generic name of peppers).

Four other plants with edible roots are cultivated in the clearings: e'ru (*ariá*; *Maranta lutea* Jacq.), also cultivated by the Neobrazilians and formerly extensively planted; maikura'ki (*maikúra*, sweet) or dya'matịna (l.g.?), the tubercles of which have a sweet taste; nakị-čane ("penis of tapir"), said to be cultivated by the Kokáma also; and a:'tatị, which is occasionally planted by the Neobrazilians of the region.[2]

Cotton (tẹ) was formerly planted more widely than today, but now one finds only a few isolated stands in the clearings, and many Indians no longer plant any at all. Cotton fell into disuse after purchased cloth began to be used for the feminine apron, *tanga*, which was originally the main product of Tukuna weavers. Other articles once made of cotton are now made of tucum fibers, such as bands for arm and leg and the sling (*tipoia*) for carrying children.

In 1941 I met with considerable difficulty in acquiring two spindles (tẹ-ü'vanẹ[2]) for the ethnographic collection at Belém do Pará. The shaft is topped by a small knob; the whorl, of turtle shell (*tracajá*, turtle; *Podocnemis* sp.), or of wood, is placed on the shaft from above.

[1] Tessmann, p. 560.
[2] Only *arid* is identified.—Trans.

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the wild state by the first men, who raised them in their houses. Even today the Tukuna raise very few chickens, since they dislike their dirtying up the house or yard. Their forefathers had an aversion to the flesh but ate the eggs. Of the present generation no one refused to eat chicken with me, but in general they raise them only for sale to the Neobrazilians.

The plague of blood-sucking bats forces the poultry raisers to keep their wards almost always locked up at night in well-closed henhouses. These are generally conical in shape; one that I saw even had a veranda! Ducks, which are not very numerous, were recently introduced, as their name "pa'tu" (P., *pato*, duck) indicates.

With the exception of large mammals and birds of prey, the Tukuna occasionally raise at home the young of almost every species of wild animal that falls into their hands. These animals, all of which have the run of the place, generally stay only a short time in the possession of their original captors, since they are greatly sought after by the Neobrazilians. Others, upon becoming adult, turn wild or almost wild, coming and going at will from house to jungle and back again; they are given food, but no attempt is made to recapture them.

Every year, in the winter, the women and children are in the habit of raising the young of a marmoset called *leãozito* (little lion)* by the Neobrazilians. Sometimes two or three may be observed clinging to the hair of their mistress, who thus carries them wherever she goes, giving them masticated food from her own mouth. During the night she shelters them in a conical basket, woven in an openwork technique; it is suspended with the bottom down and is covered with tururí bark cloth, the round entrance being plugged up with a bit of rag. Although these tiny creatures cannot be raised outside this region, they are much coveted by civilized persons.

Fishing

Fishing is the principal occupation of the men, who rarely let a day pass without indulging in it. A boy is taught to fish, from childhood, accompanying his father in the canoe and maneuvering it at his command. Even at the age of six, both boys and girls pass long hours alone in the igarapé or igapó in the small canoes their fathers make for them. At the age of nine or ten many boys are already able to provide the household with the fish required.

The equipment consists of the fishhook, javelin, arrow, harpoon, and arrow-harpoon. According to Tessmann, bone fishhooks were formerly used. I did not succeed in getting data from my informants on this point. They were able to tell me only that in the old days the children used to fish for small fry with the mandibles of the *taóca* army ants (*Ecyton* sp.), called vɔ'/čata in Tukuna. If this is true, then the fish certainly must have been only very tiny and of no economic value.

However, the fishhook (pɔ'/va) figures in the legend of the culture heroes as the property of a demon much older than they (see p. 126). Nowadays the Tukuna do not go off in their canoes without taking one or more reeds with fishhooks of various sizes with which to experiment as soon as they arrive at a propitious place.

* Also called *leoncito*, *saguim ledosinho*, and *chichico* (*Cebuella pygmaea pygmaea*, Spix).—Trans.

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411 on a beam near the fireplace with the points turned toward the fire in order to dry the poison. Before inserting the dart in the blowgun they moisten the poison by passing the tip between the lips.

278 *Curare.*—The Tukuna used to be famed for their curare, called in the lingua [439] geral **uirari** (gʊ:'rë), which was considered the most efficient of all forms, so that [178] foreign Indians would come from afar to obtain their product. Today this admirable skill is being forgotten and is falling into disuse. Among the Brasilian Tukuna there is only one Indian capable of making good curare, Calixto daueru'kị of Igarapézinho, a tributary of the Igarapé de São Jeronymo. I was present four times, from start to finish, during his preparation of the poison.

The principal ingredient, about 70 per cent of the raw material, is the scraped bark of a liana called gʊ:'rë,[28] a solid-ground jungle plant the trunk of which attains a thickness of some 20 cm. A few pieces of the liana are cut, and the bark is scraped at the same place. This used to be done with the edge of a bivalve shell; nowadays it is scraped with a knife. Once at home, the curare maker pours water over the scrapings into a wide-mouthed pot, where the resulting infusion forms a thick, sepia-colored soup. The scrapings are squeezed between the hands and placed on cane[29] leaves, tied together so as to form a kind of conical filter (gʊ:'rë-čin[ị][a]). The leaves are held fast by bending them over a hoop and tying them in this position. The filter is placed on a frame of sticks to keep it about two handbreadths above the ground, the pot is placed beneath it, and the liquid is then poured through the filter.

The second ingredient, about 20 per cent of the total, is the scraped root of a plant called in Tukuna tau'-mačirë' ("anus of toucan"). The vapors released by scraping this plant somewhat irritate the mucous membranes. The infusion, which looks like a dark-brown mud, is placed in another cane-leaf filter beside the first.

All the other ingredients are used in quantities so small that, taken altogether, they make up perhaps 10 per cent of the total. Among them are the root scrapings of the ńɔ:bị (jabotí)[30] plant, the infusion of which is poured through a separate filter but into the same pot as the preceding ingredients. Filtered into the same pot are also infusions of aň/pa'ra ("cinnamon," jacamím) and a small quantity of a special type of sweet potato called gʊ:'rë-ňëi[a]-kɔ:'rë, which is scraped with a pirarueú tongue. The other components—scrapings of vɔta', ɔva'ru, anị' and dyʊ'/ne—are considered of little importance.

After everything has been filtered several times, the liquids are poured together into a large pot, which is placed over a slow fire. The ash-brown scum that then forms on the surface is skimmed off, mixed with water, and filtered again. The thick, coffee-colored liquid is stirred with a hafted river shell. After some time a dark sediment begins to precipitate and is carefully removed from time to time, the liquid being poured into another pot. This task of removing the scum and sediment is continued for about a week, the preparator working about nine hours a day. It is done with extreme care, for they say that the efficacy of the poison depends largely on this. Pains are also taken not to allow overheating of the decoction,

[28] *Strychnos toxifera* ?—Trans.
[29] *Ubím*, "cane"; also known as *guaricanga de bengala*.
[30] *Vèrga de jabutí* (*Erisma calcaratum*, Warm.?).—Trans.

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For the deer that invade the plantations, pitfalls (a:'ma[ⁿ]) are dug to the depth of a meter and a half, a sharpened paxiuba stake being set vertically at the bottom. In a pitfall that I saw, a dog had died, and a few days later an alligator also fell into it.

Gathering

The gathering of wild fruits and the capture of animals that cannot properly be included under hunting are still carried on by both sexes; by men when the opportunity presents itself and by women on trips made for the purpose.

There are many varieties of edible wild fruits, although most have no economic importance, being no more than mere tidbits, like the pods of the *arara tucupy*, the seeds of which are covered with a thin layer of thick, sweet liquid. The only fruits of real economic importance are those of the four palms, burity (*Mauritia vinifera*), *bacabeira* (*Oenocarpus bacaba*), *patauá* (*Oenocarpus patauá*), and açahy (*Euterpe* sp.). All four species are common in the jungles of the Tukuna. During the period of gathering one always sees large earthenware vessels containing burity fruits soaked in a solution to make the rinds come off more easily, and the Indians constantly help themselves. The fruits of these four palms are then macerated in tepid water and a fatty drink is prepared by a process common among the Neobrazilians as well, the separation of the pulp from the stones by treading. The liquid is passed through a very fine sieve (va'iri-činĵ-ĵ[ⁿ]ń, from va'ira, açahy). A sufficient quantity is then prepared so that the neighbors may be invited to drink also. The gathering of the fruits and the preparation of the beverage are feminine tasks.

The Tukuna are acquainted with the Brazil nut, or niggertoe, *castanha do Pará* (*Bertholletia excelsa*), but they eat only the kernels without preparing from them either milk or oil. Nino, an Indian of Igarapé da Rita, had planted near his house about ten such saplings, which were then bearing fruit.

The Tukuna will not eat toads, though they do not reject various species of frogs; they also eat beetle larvae, which are found in burity palms, and the queens of *saúva* ants (i.g., *içá; Atta cephalotes*) when they are swarming. Of the various kinds of honey the most appreciated is that of the wild bee, jandaíra. Bees are not raised at home.

Food

The most common food is fish, either boiled or freshly smoked and eaten with farinha (formerly with beijús). Seasoning is obtained by thrusting the fingertip into a small dish with crushed salt and pepper and then licking it. At present, the salt is bought from the Neobrazilians, but it is said that in the old days it was prepared from the ash from burned green marajá palm leaves.

Of fish, the Indian takes only as much as he can swallow at one gulp, picking it, with a rapid pinch of the fingers, from the common receptacle. In consequence, the piece of fish shortly assumes such a tattered appearance that it looks like nothing more than a dog's dinner.

When there is roast game, no one cuts himself a large piece, but each in turn seizes the meat, tears off a chunk with the teeth, and tosses the remainder back

4: Marcoy T-5 (ca. 1865) 1875 SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

The colour of these natives recalled that of old mahogany. A thick rough mane of hair covered their shoulders. The man was decorated on each cheek with tattoo-marks of a deep blue, produced with the juice of the *Pseudo-Añil indigofera*, the design of which somewhat resembled the Chinese letters on a tea-chest. He wore round his neck a necklace made of three or four rows of monkeys' teeth mounted on an osier framework; a brassart of woven cotton, ornamented with a bunch of yellow feathers and surmounted with a crest composed of the long feathers of the ara, was fastened just below the shoulder of each arm; bracelets of a similar material, but without the *pompon* or crest, encircled his legs above the ankles; and a peculiar girdle round his loins completed his attire. In his hand he carried a lance of palm-wood, with a notched point. The woman had neither the hieroglyphic marks on her face nor

CANOE OF THE TICUNA INDIANS ON THE RIVER ATACOARI.

the crested bracelets on her arm. She wore a necklace of red glass beads, acquired in one of her husband's transactions with the Brazilians. A band of woven cotton adorned the lower part of her legs, and a belt of the same material, none too wide, encircled her loins.

This little group, dimly seen in the faint light of the quebrada, and standing out in relief against the rich back-ground of vegetation, through which the blue sky was here and there visible, presented a charming subject for a sketch, of which I proceeded to take advantage. Having stopped the canoe, my companion amused the two Ticunas while I set to work to paint them. Puzzled by my occupation as much as by the intentness with which I regarded them, the couple exchanged some observations in an idiom with which I was unacquainted, and in the utterance of which they appeared to use their throat rather than their tongue. The gutturals of Hebrew, the double consonants of the Quichua tongue, the G, the Jotas and the X of the Castilian, are sounds of the softest melody compared with the vocal gurgling of these Ticunas,

The master of the hut then addresses the stranger, and in the hollow ventriloqual tones peculiar to the Ticunas, asks, "Who are you?—Where do you come from?—Are you friend or foe?—What brings you here?" The stranger satisfies these inquiries one after the other; or, more frequently, his visit having only a commercial aim, is content to answer by exhibiting the articles he brings, and which he desires to exchange for the products of Ticuna industry. The arms are then cast aside in order to discuss the value of the goods offered and those wanted; it will be readily understood that the discussion is intermingled with numerous requisitions on the caisuma. The articles of Ticuna industry consist of yucca-flour, blowing-pipes, hammocks, hunting-poison, and coarse cotton goods.

Some young girls with short-cut hair whom we had noticed among the Ticunas led us for a moment to believe that they shared the custom of cropping with the Yahuas; but the information we obtained on this subject disabused us of the notion. The cropped pate of these young girls was only the visible sign of their having attained the age of puberty, and was the complement of the mysterious practice which the tribes of the Plain of Sacramento, and notably the Conibos, call *Schébianabiqui*. The Ticunas name it *Ihiéboah*, an expression which is less humorous than the other, and which may be translated "young girl," from *ihié*, woman, and *boah*, child.

After translating the word, it remains to describe the custom itself.

When the matrons find that a female child has attained puberty, they take possession of the young girl, conduct her in a procession to a hut built in a lonely place for the purpose, shut her up in it after providing some food and a vessel of water, and then leave her for forty-eight hours, the victim of *ennui* or her reflections. At the expiration of this time the matrons come to deliver their prisoner; but before giving her complete liberty, they rub her head with the milky juice of a *ficus*, which instantaneously coagulates, and forms, under the rotatory motion of the palms of their hands, a multitude of little balls, within which is entangled the hair of the young girl. These little balls, which the matrons snatch away one by one for amusement, tear away the hair with them, and make the patient scream with pain; two musicians, with their backs to the entrance of the hut, play an accompaniment to this proceeding on the flageolet and tambourine.

When the head of the victim has been thus completely stripped, the women cover it with a hood of yellow feathers, the shape of which reminds one of a species of toadstool (*Boletus*); in the centre of this is fixed a plume of feathers from the tail of the ara. Thus accoutred, the young girl, frightened and crying, is first led round the village, and then conducted in succession to the river-side and the forest, continually followed by the matrons, who whip her roughly with green boughs in order to harden her against the trouble to come.

After several hours of wandering in this manner, and an indefinite number of draughts of caisuma which the young girl is forced to drink, they introduce her into a hut where a new hammock has been slung for the purpose. Utterly broken down with fatigue, drunkenness, and the switchings so unsparingly administered, she tumbles into the swinging net and immediately falls into a profound sleep. In the meantime, the assembled nation celebrates, with games and a remarkable consumption

5: Bates N-5 (1848-1859) 1892
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a chief of more or less influence, according to his energy and ambition, and possessing its pajé or medicine man, who fosters its superstitions; but they are much more idle and debauched than other Indians belonging to the superior tribes. They are not so warlike and loyal as the Mundurucús, although resembling them in many respects, nor have they the slender figures, dignified mien, and gentle disposition of the Passés; there are, however, no trenchant points of difference to distinguish them from these highest of all the tribes. Both men and women are tattooed, the pattern being sometimes a scroll on each cheek, but generally rows of short straight lines on the face. Most of the older people wear bracelets, anklets, and garters of tapir-hide or tough bark; in their homes they wear no other dress except on festival days, when they ornament themselves with feathers or masked cloaks made of the inner bark of a tree. They were very shy when I made my first visits to their habitations in the forest, all scampering off to the thicket when I approached, but on subsequent days they became more familiar, and I found them a harmless, good-natured people.

A great part of the horde living at the first Maloca or village dwell in a common habitation, a large oblong hut built and arranged inside with such a disregard of all symmetry, that it appeared as though constructed by a number of hands, each working independently, stretching a rafter or fitting in a piece of thatch, without reference to what his fellow-labourers were doing. The walls as well as the roof are covered with thatch of palm-leaves; each piece consisting of leaflets plaited and attached in a row to a lath many feet in length. Strong upright posts support the roof, hammocks being slung between them, leaving a free space for passage and for fires in the middle, and on one side is an elevated stage (*girao*) overhead, formed of split palm-stems. The Tucúnas excel most of the other tribes in the manufacture of pottery. They make broad-mouthed jars, for Tucupí sauce, caysúma or mandioca beer, capable of holding twenty or more gallons, ornamenting them outside with crossed diagonal streaks of various colours. These jars, with cooking-pots, smaller jars for holding water, blow-pipes, quivers, matirí bags * full of small articles, baskets, skins of animals, and so forth, form the principal part of the furniture of their huts, both large and small. The dead bodies of their chiefs are interred, the knees doubled up, in large jars under the floors of their huts.

The semi-religious dances and drinking bouts usual amongst the settled tribes of Amazonian Indians are indulged in to greater excess by the Tucúnas than they are by most other tribes. The Juruparí or Demon is the only superior being they have any conception of, and his name is mixed up with all their ceremonies, but it is difficult to ascertain what they consider to be his attributes. He seems to be believed in simply as a mischievous imp, who is at the bottom of all those mishaps

* These bags are formed of remarkably neat twine made of Bromelia fibres elaborately knitted, all in one piece, with sticks; a belt of the same material, but more closely woven, being attached to the top to suspend them by. They afford good examples of the mechanical ability of these Indians. The Tucúnas also possess the art of skinning and stuffing birds, the handsome kinds of which they sell in great numbers to passing travellers.